

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 SAM-01

CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01 AF-06

EB-07 EURE-00 NEA-10 IO-10 OPR-02 /095 W

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O R 081320Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3701

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

DIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 4511

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: AFM SPLITS

REF: FBIS LONDON 080430Z AUG 75 (FULL TEXT OF ANTUNES STATEMENT)

SUMMARY: IN A SIGNED DOCUMENT THAT HAS FALLEN LIKE BOMB-SHELL ON PORTUGUESE POLITICAL SCENE, MELO ANTUNES WITH NINE MEMBERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (RC) AND 16 OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (AFM) PUBLISHED ON AUGUST 7 A STRONG ATTACK ON THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. THE MODERATE POLITICAL PROGRAM PROPOSED BY ANTUNES AND HIS ALLIES WILL HAVE WIDE APPEAL IN THE PORTUGUESE POLITICAL SPECTRUM AND WILL PROVIDE A RALLY-ING POINT FOR ANTI-GONCALVES AND ANTI-RADICAL ELEMENTS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE AFM. DOCUMENT IS MUCH MORE THAN PIECE OF PAPER, CONFIDENTIAL

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HAVING BEEN SIGNED BY LEADING PLOTTERS FROM THE APRIL 25 REVOLT,

TWO MILITARY REGION COMMANDERS, AND THE COMMANDER OF THE ARMOR UNIT AT SANTAREM. IN THE FACE OF THIS REMARKABLE ATTACK, THE ANGOLA AND AZORES SITUATIONS, THE CONTINUAL VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, AND THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE GOVERNMENT NOW BEING FORMED BY PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES CAN BE ANYTHING BUT SHORT-LIVED. END SUMMARY

1. EVENING EDITION OF "JORNAL NOVO" AUGUST 7 CARRIED TEXT OF LONG LETTER TO PRESIDENT PREPARED BY FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER MELO ANTUNES, LEADER OF AFM "MODERATES". DOCUMENT IS STRONG INDICTMENT OF STEADY LEFTWARD MOVEMENT OF REVOLUTION UNDER UNCERTAIN LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES AND PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES. IT CHARGES THAT AFM WHICH INITIALLY HAD AFFIRMED ITS NON-PARTISAN CHARACTER HAD ALLOWED ITSELF TO BE MANIPULATED BY PARTIES AND POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS. AS A RESULT, AFM NOW FOUND ITSELF COMMITTED TO POLITICAL PROGRAM CONSISTENT NEITHER WITH ITS INITIAL INTENTIONS NOR THE ROLE WHICH THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION EXPECTED OF IT.

2. HIGHLIGHTS OF DOCUMENT FOLLOW:

--ECONOMY: MOST CRITICAL MOMENT OF A GRAVE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS APPROACHING WHICH COULD PRODUCE A RUPTURE -- WHICH IS ALREADY IMMINENT -- BETWEEN AFM AND MAJORITY OF PEOPLE.

-- ANGOLA: DECISIVE PHASE OF DECOLONIZATION HAS ARRIVED AT TIME WHEN PORTUGAL IS DIVIDED AND ILL-PREPARED TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION. THE FUTURE OF THE REVOLUTION IS INTIMATELY LINKED TO EVENTS IN ANGOLA.

-- PRESS: COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA HAS BEEN PROFOUNDLY DISTORTED THROUGH RIGID PARTISAN CONTROL. AS RESULT, SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF PORTUGUESE POPULATION RELIES UPON FOREIGN MEDIA FOR DOMESTIC NEWS. PROPOSALS FOR GREATER MEDIA CONTROL SMACK OF CENSORSHIP AND CONSTITUTE DIRE THREAT TO FEW REMAINING STRONGHOLDS OF FREE PRESS IN COUNTRY.

-- POLITICAL MODELS: EASTERN EUROPEAN AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MODELS ARE BOTH REJECTED. GOAL IS SOCIALISM DEFINED AS SOCIETY WITHOUT CLASSES AND END TO EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN. BUT IT MUST BE ACHIEVED THROUGH POLITICAL PLURALISM, WITH PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES. THIS SOCIALIST MODEL IS INSEPARABLE FROM BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES.

-- FOREIGN AFFAIRS: GOAL IS NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, WHICH IMPLIES CONFIDENTIAL

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(A) MAINTENANCE OF RELATIONS WITH EUROPE; (B) OPENING OF RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD; (C) INCREASING LINKS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE; AND (D) DEVELOPING A STRATEGY FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA IN CONJUNCTION WITH ALL INTERESTED COUNTRIES INCLUDING THE EUROPEANS AND THE ARABS.

-- POLITICAL POWER: CLARIFICATION OF QUESTION OF POLITICAL POWER IN COUNTRY IS PRIORITY TASK. THERE ARE TOO MANY COMPETING CENTERS OF POWER. "CRISIS OF AUTHORITY" IS RESULT. DIFFERENCES

WITHIN AFM ARE A REFLECTION OF IDEOLOGICAL DISTINCT APPROACHES --
APPROACHES WHICH ARE MUTUALLY INCOMPATIBLE. THE APPROACH WHICH
MASQUERADES UNDER THE GUISE OF SOCIALISM BUT WHICH WOULD CREATE
A BUREAUCRATIC DICTATORSHIP MUST BE DENOUNCED AND REJECTED.

3. DOCUMENT CONCLUDES THAT PORTUGAL IS AT CROSSROADS. IT STATES
CLEARLY WHAT MUST BE DONE TO PUT THE REVOLUTION BACK ON TRACK.
-- THE AFM MUST WIN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE AND RECOVER
ITS REVOLUTIONARY IMAGE BOTH THROUGH WORDS AND ACTIONS.
-- PATH TO SOCIALISM MUST BE SELECTED WHICH DOES NOT GO AGAINST
THE WILL OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.
-- AFM MUST EXERCISE ITS AUTHORITY IN COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE
FROM THE PARTIES, BUT TAKING FULLY INTO ACCOUNT THE FUNCTIONS
WHICH PARTIES CAN AND OUGHT TO PLAY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.
-- AFM MUST DEFINE A POLITICAL PLAN FOR THE TRANSITION TO
SOCIALISM IN DEMOCRACY AND PEACE.

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4. GOVERNMENT HAS REACTED STRONGLY. THE RULING DIRECTORATE HAS ISSUED TERSE STATEMENT CONDEMNING DOCUMENT AND LABELING IT AS "INCORRECT" AND "INJURIOUS TO MILITARY DISCIPLINE AND ETHICS." COPCON HAS ISSUED SEPARATE STATEMENT DENYING THAT COPCON COMMANDER AND DIRECTORATE MEMBER GENERAL OTELO SARAIVA DE CARVALHO SUPPORTED DOCUMENT'S CONTENTS AS HAD BEEN REPORTED BY JORNAL NOVO.

5. LISTED BELOW ARE THE OFFICERS WHO SIGNED THE STATEMENT:

(A) REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL MEMBERS:

-- CAPT. VASCO LOURENCO -- RC SPOKESMAN
-- MAJ. CANTO E CASTRO -- RC TROUBLESHOOTER
-- CDR VITOR CRESPO -- FORMER MOZAMBIQUE HIGH COMMISSIONER AND ONE OF THE MODERATE LEADERS IN RC.
-- MAJ. COSTA NEVES
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-- MAJ. MELO ANTUNES -- LEADER OF "MODERATES" AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER.
-- VICTOR ALVES -- FORMER MINISTER W/O PORTFOLIO. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF APRIL 25, 1974 REVOLT.
-- BG FRANCO CHARAIS -- COMMANDER OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY REGION
-- BG PEZARAT CORREIA -- COMMANDER OF THE SOUTHERN MILITARY REGION
-- CAPT. SOUSA E CASTRO -- RECENTLY PUBLISHED STATEMENT ATTACKING THE DIRECTORY PLAN

(B) AFM MEMBERS NOT ON RC:

-- LTC COSTA BRAS -- FORMER MINISTER OF INTERIOR. ORGANIZED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS.
-- CAPT. TOMAZ ROSA -- 1975 LEADER GRANTEE. WORKS WITH INFORMATION AND LABOR MINISTRIES. HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN ANTI-GONCALVES ACTIVITIES.
-- CAPT. SALGUEIRO MAIA -- COMMANDER OF THE ARMOR SCHOOL
-- LTC RAMALHO EANES -- FORMER HEAD OF RTP
-- LTC FISHER LOPES PIRES -- RECENTLY RESIGNED FROM RC
-- COL. GARCIA DOS SANTOS
-- MAJ. AVENTINO TEIXEIRA -- FORMER ADMINISTRATOR OF "O SEculo"
-- MAJ. LOUREIRO DOS SANTOS -- FORMER SECRETARY TO ORIGINAL AFM COORDINATING COMMITTEE. CLOSE TO CHARAIS.
-- LTC ADERITO FIGUEIRA
-- CDR. MARIO DE AGUIAR -- FORMER MEMBER OF ADM. CRESPO'S STAFF IN MOZAMBIQUE
-- CAPT. LOPES CAMILO
-- MAJ. REBELO GONCALVES -- FORMER INTERIM COMMANDER IN MACAO
-- MAJ. GORDA LIMA
-- CAPT. PARENTE
-- BG ROCHA VIERA
-- LTC CASTRO ALVES

6. COMMENT: THE ANTUNES DOCUMENT, WHICH HAS FALLEN LIKE A BOMBSHELL ON THE LOCAL POLITICAL SCENE, BRINGS INTO THE OPEN THE SHARP SPLIT WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT. SIGNING OF THE DOCUMENT BY ANTUNES AND ALVES, KEY PLOTTERS IN THE APRIL 25, 1974 REVOLT; VITOR CRESPO, WHO HAS DESERVED REPUTATION FOR TOUGHNESS; CHARAIS AND PEZARAT CORREIA, AND SALGUEIRO MAIA, COMMANDER OF THE ARMOR SCHOOL AT SANTAREM, MAKES THIS DOCUMENT MORE THAN A PAPER EXERCISE. IT CONSTITUTES A DIRECT MILITARY
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THREAT TO THE RADICALS OF THE AFM AND TO THE PRIME MINISTER.
WITH THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE WAVE OF VIOLENCE ACROSS THE COUNTRY, THE RAPIDLY DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION, THE WORSENING SITUATION IN ANGOLA, AND INCREASINGLY LIKELY REVOLT IN THE AZORES, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE NEW GOVERNMENT BEING FORMED BY GONCALVES CAN LAST. THE MODERATES, OR "NON-RADICALS" AS THEY PREFER TO CALL THEMSELVES, HAVE PRESENTED BOTH A POWERFUL CRITIQUE AND A REALISTIC ALTERNATIVE WHICH WILL HAVE APPEAL TO A BROAD SEGMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. IT WILL PROVIDE A RALLYING POINT FOR MODERATES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE AFM IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS AND THE FAR LEFT. THE COMMUNISTS AND THE RADICAL LEFT CAN BE EXPECTED TO FIGHT BACK. BUT THE BATTLE LINES ARE CLEARLY DRAWN.
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Message Attributes

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